

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3801
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 0137

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, UR
SUBJ: NATO BRIEFING ON RECENT GDR MEASURES

REFS: A) BONN 0654; B) BONN 0397; C) BONN 0327; D) MOSCOW 0507

1. SUMMARY: WE HAVE COMMENTS ON SEVERAL ASPECTS OF
DRAFT NATO BRIEFING. IN PARTICULAR WE ARE CONCERNED
THAT DRAFT AS IT NOW STANDS UNDERRATES POTENTIAL
SOVIET INTEREST IN AFFECTING STATUS OF EAST BERLIN
AND IS WEAK ON SIGNIFICANCE OF APPARENT GDR EFFORT TO
DO AWAY WITH REQUIREMENT THAT GDR LEGISLATION ADOPTED
BY VOLKSKAMMER APPLIES TO EAST BERLIN ONLY AFTER IT
IS TAKEN OVER IN SEPARATE ACT BY EAST BERLIN CITY
AUTHORITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. PARAGRAPHS 6-8 OF DRAFT SUGGEST STRONGLY THAT IT
IS GDR ALONE THAT HAS INTEREST IN INCORPORATING EAST
BERLIN FULLY INTO GDR THUS ENDING QUADRIPARTITE
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RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THAT PART OF CITY. THEY SAY THAT
SOVIETS EXERCISE A MODERATING INFLUENCE BECAUSE "THE
PRESENT STATUS OF THE EASTERN SECTOR GIVES THEM CERTAIN
LEVERAGE WITH EAST GERMANS AND THEY PROBABLY CALCULATE
THAT TOO SUDDEN A CHANGE COULD PREJUDICE THE GAINS THEY
SEEK FROM THEIR WESTPOLITIK AND THEIR EXPLOITATION
OF DETENTE". WE AGREE THAT SOVIETS PROBABLY DO EXERCISE

SOMETHING OF A MODERATING INFLUENCE AND THAT GDR DESIRES TO MOVE FASTER THAN SOVIETS IN THIS AREA. SOVIETS PROBABLY, HOWEVER, SHARE MUCH OF BASIC GDR INTEREST THOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS.

3. SOVIET LEVERAGE OVER GDR IS OF A MUCH MORE MUSCULAR SORT THAN RETENTION OF LEGAL RIGHTS IN EAST BERLIN. WE DOUBT THAT THIS LEVERAGE WOULD BE ERODED TO ANY MEANINGFUL EXTENT WERE ALLIES EVER TO ACCEPT EASTERN POSITION THAT SOVIET SECTOR OF BERLIN CEASED TO EXIST MANY YEARS AGO AND THAT EAST BERLIN IS NOW A FULLY INTEGRATED PART OF SOVEREIGN GDR TERRITORY. ON OTHER HAND, SOVIETS HAVE MAJOR INTEREST IN INCREASING THEIR INFLUENCE OVER WEST BERLIN AFFAIRS AS MUCH AS THEY CAN WITH ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF ACQUIRING A FOURTH POWER ROLE IN WEST BERLIN THAT WOULD GIVE THEM VETO RIGHTS OVER ACTIVITIES -- NOTABLY FRG-BERLIN TIES -- WHICH ALLIES HAVE ALWAYS CLAIMED LIE WITHIN OUR TRIPARTITE COMPETENCE.

4. ALLIES WISH TO CONTINUE TO BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN THAT THERE ARE CONTINUING QUADRIpartite RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN.

IT IS CONTINUING SPECIAL STATUS FOR EAST BERLIN, HOWEVER, THAT HELPS US TO KEEP SOVIETS AT ARMS LENGTH IN WEST BERLIN BY POINTING OUT THAT SOVIET'S SPECIFIC COMPETENCE IS FOR THEIR SECTOR OF CITY AND THAT QUADRIpartite RESPONSIBILITIES APPLY TO GREATER BERLIN WHILE ALLIES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF WESTERN SECTORS. THIS NUANCE
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MIGHT BE REFLECTED IF SENTENCES ALONG FOLLOWING LINES WERE ADDED TO PARAGRAPH 7:

BEGIN TEXT: ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOVIETS ALSO HAVE AN INTEREST IN EFFECTING THE FULL INTEGRATION OF EAST BERLIN INTO THE GDR. SUCH A DISAPPEARANCE OF THE "SOVIET SECTOR" WOULD PERMIT THEM TO ADVANCE THEIR CLAIMS TO A GREATER ROLE IN WEST BERLIN AFFAIRS BY ARGUING THAT QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WERE NOW FOCUSED SOLELY ON WEST BERLIN. END TEXT.

4. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT TREATMENT OF APPARENT GDR EFFORT TO DO AWAY WITH "UEBERNAHME" (TAKE OVER) PROCEDURE IS WEAK. NON-APPEARANCE OF VERORDNUNGSBLATT FUER GROSS-BERLIN IS MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 8 OF DRAFT AS OF OF "ADDITIONAL" GDR STEPS TO REMOVE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN EAST BERLIN AND GDR. IT IS GIVEN CONSIDERABLY LESS PROMINENCE, HOWEVER, THAN VISA

MEASURE AND REMOVAL OF BORDER POSTS. MOREOVER, IT IS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM LISTING IN PARAGRAPH 10 OF MAJOR ITEMS THAT DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE STILL IS SPECIAL EAST BERLIN STATUS. WE SUGGEST THAT THIS BE RECTIFIED BY INSERTING FOLLOWING AS SUBPARAGRAPH V IN PARA 10:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 0137

BEGIN TEXT: THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF AN "UEBERNAHME PROCEDURE PURSUANT TO WHICH LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE GDR VOLKSKAMMER DOES NOT APPLY DIRECTLY TO EAST BERLIN BUT MUST BE PASSED BY THE CITY MAGISTRAT AND PUBLISHED IN VERORDNUNGSBLATT FUER GROSS-BERLIN. END TEXT.

5. FOR MOSCOW: IN CONNECTION WITH POINT PARA 5, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER THERE WAS ANY DISCUSSION OF NON-APPEARANCE OF VERORDNUNGSBLATT FUER GROSS-BERLIN WHEN ALLIED EMBASSIES DELIVERED PROTEST TO SOVIETS JANUARY 11 AS ENVISAGED REFS B AND C. WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THIS MATTER SINCE GDR TACTIC OF SUSPENDING PUBLICATION WITHOUT MAKING OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT SUGGESTS THAT THEY MAY RESUME PUBLICATION IF ALLIES FOCUSED STRONGLY ENOUGH UPON IT. WHEREAS VISA MEASURE AND REMOVAL OF BORDER POSTS HOWEVER, SIGNIFICANCE OF THOSE STEPS MAY BE JUDGED, APPEAR TO BE FAITS ACCOMPLI FATE OF VERORDNUNGSBLATT MAY STILL BE IN

BALANCE.
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6. WE ALSO HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON POINTS OF LESS SIGNIFICANCE IN DRAFT:

A. IT IS SAID IN PARA 8 THAT BORDER POSTS BETWEEN EAST BERLIN AND GDR "HAD BEEN IN RECENT YEARS ONLY SPARSELY MANNED AND NOT ALWAYS BY RUSSIANS". OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT AT LEAST THOSE ON MAJOR ROADS LEADING OUT OF EAST BERLIN HAD BEEN REGULARLY MANNED AND ALWAYS BY EAST GERMANS. SOVIETS WERE OCCASIONALLY PRESENT, BUT ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A SOVIET MILITARY MOVEMENT. IT MIGHT THUS BE BEST TO DELETE QUALIFYING CLAUSE FROM DRAFT.

B. PARAGRAPH 10 LISTS AS ONE MAJOR REMAINING INDICATOR OF SPECIAL EAST BERLIN STATUS "DISTINCT VISA REQUIREMENT FOR EAST BERLIN AND FOR THE GDR." LEST SOME LISTENERS BE CONFUSED AS TO WHAT NOW REMAINS OF THIS, IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO SPELL OUT IN MORE DETAIL THAT WHILE PREVIOUSLY NO VISA HAD BEEN REQUIRED OF NON-GERMAN TO VISIT EAST BERLIN FOR LESS THAN 24 HOURS, THERE REMAIN SOME DISTINCTIONS. IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET A VISA ONLY FOR EAST BERLIN BUT THE TRAVELLER WHO WISHES TO VISIT ONLY LEIPZIG MUST GET A VISA FOR GDR. GDR ALSO RETAINS SPECIAL RULES FOR OBTAINING VISA TO VISIT EAST BERLIN AS OPPOSED TO VISITING GDR PROPER, VISIBLE SIGNS OF WHICH ARE THAT SINGLE DAY VISA FOR EAST BERLIN CAN BE OBTAINED DIRECTLY AT CHECKPOINT AND THAT MINIMUM CURRENCY EXCHANGE AMOUNT IS HALF THAT REQUIRED FOR VISIT TO GDR.

C. PARAGRAPH 10 ALSO STATES THAT FURTHER SIGN OF SPECIAL STATUS IS "THE CONTINUED FUNCTIONING OF THE FOUR-POWER BERLIN CONTROL ZONE FOR AIR TRAFFIC." WE ASSUME THAT REGARDLESS OF STATUS OF EAST BERLIN
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SOVIETS WOULD RETAIN INTEREST IN A FOUR POWER CONTROL ZONE FOR TRAFFIC OVER WESTERN SECTORS. IT WOULD PERHAPS BE DESIRABLE, THEREFORE, TO REVISE THIS POINT TO READ:

BEGIN TEXT: THE CONTINUED FUNCTIONING OF THE SPECIAL AIR REGIME, INCLUDING THE FOUR POWER BERLIN CONTROL ZONE WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR AIR TRAFFIC OVER EAST AS WELL AS WEST BERLIN AND THE RIGHT OF ALLIED AIR-CRAFT TO FLY OVER ALL OF BERLIN. END TEXT.

D. WE UNDERSTAND NEXT VOLKSKAMMER ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR 1981, NOT 1980 AS STATED PARA 10 (I).
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